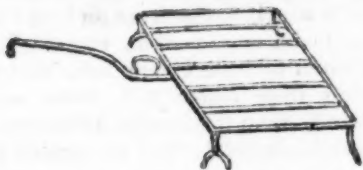


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"But the grand and vital question is, whether the boroughmongering system can support itself amidst all the uproar and turmoil of the breaking-up of the funding system; and whether it can go on and consolidate and perpetuate itself in this country. If it can; if the army can still be kept up, and if the personal safety of all the people can be made to depend upon the breath of the Minister; if the breach between the two systems do NOT LET IN REFORM, it is hard to say how very low this country is to be sunk in the scale of nations."—*Mr. Cobbett's taking leave of his Countrymen, Register, 28th March, 1817.*

TO

THE REFORMERS OF THE WHOLE KINGDOM.

London, 4th July, 1829.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

THE ENEMIES OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, after having, for so many years, used their utmost endeavours to stifle the voice of its friends and to destroy their hopes for ever; after having spared no means, however foul, shameful, dastardly and cruel, to effect their purpose, now begin to see, that they stand in need of some sort of reform even to save themselves from destruction. That struggle between the LAND and the FUNDS; or, in other words, between the *tax-payers* and the *tax-receivers*, which we long ago anticipated, now appears to be at hand. The parties more immediately interested in this struggle, are the land-owners on the one side, and on the other, the fund-owners, the military and naval dead-weight, the placemen, the sinecurists, and the grantees. It is evident, from every thing which we see around us, that a large part of what the latter receive must be withheld from them, or that the former must be plunged into

beggary. There appears to us to be no possible way of preventing the total ruin of the landowners, unless by measures such as a Reformed Parliament alone would be able to enforce.

Therefore we are not at all surprised, that there should be now a desire expressed on the part of the landowners, to see a reform of the Parliament take place. In the meanwhile, the MARQUIS of BLANDFORD, a young nobleman of great talent and great spirit, has stepped forward in the cause, and has given notice, that early in the next Session of Parliament, he shall bring forward a regular motion upon the subject. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, too, has given notice, that he shall bring forward a motion upon the subject of Reform; which appears rather extraordinary to us, seeing that, in the spring of 1827, this same Lord declared, in his place in the House of Commons, that he had discontinued his labours in the cause of Reform, from a persuasion that the people no longer wished for any such change, in which declaration he was joined by Mr. BROUGHAM. We were not, therefore, a little surprised at hearing it asserted by the Ministers, a few days before the Parliament was prorogued, that this same Lord had a proposition for Reform on hand, of the nature of which proposition we shall have to speak by and by. At any rate, the subject is now about to be brought forward, and manifestly with the good wishes of many of those whom we have hitherto had to number amongst our bitterest enemies.

In this state of things, we think it a duty to ourselves, a duty towards our countrymen in general, and a duty towards you in particular, very explicitly to declare to you our opinions. 1. Relative to the present state of the country. 2. Relative to the immediate causes of that state. 3. Relative to the more distant causes; and, 4. Relative to the grand and sole remedy which ought now to be applied; namely, a *Radical Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament.*

C

With regard to the first of these, *the present state of the country*; it is that of unexampled distress amongst all those who are not receivers of the taxes. To describe this distress accurately and fully is beyond the power of tongue or pen; but indeed description would be useless, for it is *felt* by every creature, from the great landowner down to the most miserable ditcher or weaver. It is felt alike in country and in town; by those engaged in trade by ships as well as by those who are engaged in ploughing and sowing the land: if a decree had passed in heaven for the ruin of English families, and the starving of English work-people, the execution could not have been truer or more swift, than has been that of this decree of destruction, which we shall presently trace to the Parliament.

When men are thus afflicted, they naturally look about them for the cause of the affliction; and, in the present case, all those who are not nearly bereft of their senses, perceive that the cause is a great and sudden change in the value of money, which compels, in fact, every debtor to pay much more than he borrowed, and which compels the whole of the tax-payers to give much more than they before gave to the tax-receivers; and which thus produces injustice unparalleled in point of extent, and ruin and misery equally unparalleled. There has recently been made to the House of Commons, a report of a committee of that House, appointed to make inquiries relative to *the state of the labouring classes*. Mr. HENRY BOYCE, of WALTERSHIRE, in the county of Kent, who gave evidence before that Committee, said, that he had, with great sorrow and shame, frequently seen thirty or forty able young men degraded by being *fastened on to carts and wheelbarrows*, drawing stones to repair the turnpike roads; and that, too, not from there being a *surplus of labourers*; not from there being a *want of work* in the parish; but from there being a *want of money* in the farmers to pay for the *necessary labours* upon the land; and he added, that *the land was not so well cultivated* as it ought to be, in conse-

quence of this want of money. Before the same Committee came Mr. LISTER, of MINSTER, in the same county, MINSTER being near to the spot to which convicts are brought from on board the hulks, to be employed on shore. This gentleman told the Committee, that the convicts were *better fed, better clad, better off*, than the honest labourers of the neighbourhood; that the former frequently had from ten to seventy pounds to take when they quitted the hulks; and that he had heard several of the labourers say, that they *wished they knew how to commit some offence, that would secure them a conviction and a birth in the hulks*. Before the same Committee came a WILTSHIRE MAGISTRATE (whose name is *carefully suppressed*, but whose evidence is inserted and published by the Committee), who stated, that according to the price of labour in the neighbourhood of HINDON and SALISBURY, on the 24th June, 1828, the weekly "*earnings*" of a man, wife, and one son, amounted to *nine shillings* a week; and if the man had *five children besides*, he was allowed in relief 1s. 9½d. a week in addition to the earnings; and as the bread was 1s. 3d. the gallon loaf, at the same time and place, each of these people had 160 ounces of bread in a week, or 22 oz. a-day, and *nothing else*; and nothing for drink, *fuel, clothing, or lodging*! Every one will allow, that there is not in this food sustenance sufficient for a dog: it is not nearly so much as the allowance to felons in the jails: accordingly, crimes have increased and are increasing, until the magistrates have petitioned for powers to inflict, in numerous cases, summary punishment for *theft, without trial by Jury*!

And what is the *cause* of this want of money to pay labourers; what is the cause of these inadequate wages, of this horrible state of the labourers, and of this disgraceful increase of crime? The cause is **TAXATION**; taxation so heavy as to take from the people annually, more than twice the amount of the whole of the rental of all the houses and lands, and of all the real property of the kingdom.

Then, as to the third head, what, would we ask, has been the cause of that taxation? In order to answer this question we must inquire how the taxes are *disposed of* when raised; and we find that they are disposed of in the paying of the interest of *the Debt*; in the supporting of an *immense standing army* in the time of peace; in supporting a prodigious body of *naval and military officers*, now rendering the country no service at all; and in various other ways, which we need not here particularly point out. You are frequently told by those who receive the taxes, that the *taxes return to you*; that they *remain in the country*; and that, therefore, to take them from you can do you no harm. If any one of you, who shall happen to keep a shop, and have a stranger enter, and take a sovereign out of your till by force, giving you nothing in exchange, and shall see the same person *return* the next day, and *lay out the sovereign* in goods with you, and take the goods away; you then have a very accurate idea of the manner in which the *taxes return to the people*! If you were forcibly to take a week's wages from a labourer, and then hire him to work for you for a week, and pay him in the wages so taken away, the poor fellow would have a happy illustration of the doctrine of the *return of taxes*! The truth is, that this doctrine is one of the cheats practised on unthinking people. Taxes never return to those who pay them, any more than money returns to a man when he has lost that money by letting it fall into the sea. Taxation is so much taken from one part of the people, and given to another part of the people; taken in general from those who labour, and given to those who do not. Therefore it is that a people heavily taxed always have been, and always must be, a poor and miserable people; and hence it is that England, whose glory once was a well-fed and a well-clad people, is now a nation of paupers; a nation of miserable creatures, their nakedness hardly covered, and fed upon *twenty-two ounces of dry bread per day*!

This state of things cannot, however, last for ever; for the misery has now

reached the middle class of society, and is fast bringing the members of that class down into the class that are fed upon twenty-two ounces of bread. A remedy must now be applied, for the middle class will not be wholly brought down without an attempt to rescue themselves from such misery. The remedy, the only remedy is a reduction, a large reduction, of the amount of taxation. And is there a man amongst you; is there a man in his senses, who can expect such reduction from those who have imposed the taxes, and who now enforce their collection? Twenty years ago we warned you of the events which have now come to pass: we always maintained, that there could be no efficient reduction of taxation, that there could be no relief except the old maxims of the law were enforced, and that *taxation and representation went hand in hand*. That no man should be taxed without his own consent, given by himself or by some person chosen by him, was the very essence of the laws of our forefathers; but it is notorious, that in the year 1793 a hundred and fifty-four persons returned a decided majority of the whole of the Commons House; and it is pretty notorious that the thing has not mended since. If the people had been fully represented; if no tax had been imposed to which they had not given their assent, England would, at this day, have been as happy as any country in the world.

A Reform of the Commons' House, therefore, is what is now wanted, as it always has been wanted since the passing of the *Septennial Bill*: it is in vain to expect relief; it is in vain to seek it; there can be no change for the better without a change in the representation. The answer to us formerly was, that the Parliament "*worked well*"; that it produced good, and that, therefore, it was no matter how it was collected together. Mr. ROBINSON (now Lord Goderich), when he was in what he deemed days of prosperity, exclaimed: "this is the *work of that House which w/d and vision-ary men* have asserted to have wanted *reforming!*" In a few months after this, the nation was plunged into a panic,

the system underwent a partial blow-up, and its miseries have been increasing from that day to this.

We have now found, then, that this House does not "*work well*": we have found that it sheds ruin and misery over the land: and we now see already in the ranks of reform some of those who were formerly its most bitter enemies. But, and we now come to the most important part of our declaration, *what sort of reform* is that of which the nation stands in need? It does not stand in need of a thing that has merely the name of reform; it does not stand in need of something very little better than it now has; it does not stand in need of shifting and shuffling the right of voting from one set of corrupt and dependent people to another of the same sort: it stands in need of *universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and voting by ballot*, in order that every man who pays a tax may have a vote, and be taxed, if at all, by his own consent; in order that the persons chosen may be turned out at once, if they neglect their duty; and in order that the rich may not overawe, or influence, the poor in the giving of their votes.

This is the *sort of reform* that the nation stands in need of: any thing short of it can do no good; can produce no real remedy for the evils of the country; and can effect no one single object that any rational reformer can have in view. We, therefore, exhort you and all our Countrymen, not to be deluded by the words "*moderate reform*"; not to be cheated by those who cry out against "*violence*," as if it were violent in men to demand their rights! When the pinch comes: when the boroughmongers see, that they can no longer retain the whole, they will endeavour to retain as large a part as they can, and will give to the pitiful surrender the name of *Parliamentary Reform*. We gather from the speech of PEEL, that LORD JOHN RUSSELL means to propose to give members to BIRMINGHAM, MANCHESTER, SHEFFIELD, LEEDS, and some other large towns which have no members now. We know that you will not be cheated by a scheme like this, and we trust that the whole of the people will oppose every

such scheme. Here would be an addition of *eight members* to the *six hundred and fifty-eight*; and the right of voting would be confined to persons possessing or renting property of *ten or twenty pounds* a year. Here would be eight big manufacturers put into the House; and, in all human probability, these eight would have less feeling for the people than any other eight of the whole body.

Property ought not to be the basis of representation: taxation and personal service ought to be the basis. Every man who earns 30*l.* a-year, pays more than 15*l.* in taxes; and what justice can there be, then, in denying such man a right to vote? Even if he paid no taxes at all, he is called upon *for service in the militia*: he is compelled to serve, if called forth: he is compelled to submit to military discipline; he is compelled to quit his home and venture his life, if need be; and shall not he have as good a right to vote, as the rich man in defence of whose house and land, and goods, and cattle, he is compelled to serve? The denying of him this right has in it something so flagrantly, so outrageously unjust; there is something so insolent in the denial, something so degrading to the character of man, that no consideration on earth shall ever induce us to give our assent, expressly or tacitly, to withhold from any man this right, which he inherits by every principle of civil society. In the State of CONNECTICUT, where there are, in fact, no taxes worth speaking of, every man has a right to vote; and there not only the members of the legislature, but the chief magistrate himself, is annually chosen. In other of the estates of America the evidence of paying a tax of some sort is sometimes required; but in the State of CONNECTICUT the right to vote consists in a man having *once had his name enrolled to serve in the militia*; and the name of every man is so enrolled after he has arrived at a certain age; and it is a fact well known, that of all the people in that sensible and moral country, the people of Connecticut stand first in reputation for industry, for morality, for obedience to the laws, and for devotion in the service and defence of their

country. We demand not nearly so much for the people of England, who have an hereditary king, and one branch of the legislature also hereditary; but in the choosing of those who are to dispose of the taxes we do demand so much for the people of England; with that demand we begun our public efforts, and without obtaining the object we shall never be satisfied.

What! are the useless and insignificant creatures that happen, by any accident, to be possessed of a tenement, or of a sum of money, or quantity of goods, none of which are any thing worth without the exertion of the labourer and journeyman, and which cannot be defended without their arms; are these feeble creatures, that call upon others to defend them, to have a right of voting, while the defenders themselves are to have no right at all! We know that this is unjust; we know further, that there never can be harmony in the country, as long as such exclusion shall prevail; and, therefore, we conjure you to be deluded by no scheme which shall exclude any part of the people from the enjoyment of this right, which is the great distinction between freemen and slaves. If, the suffrage had been universal, never would the country have known the present calamitous distress. If the prayers of the Reformers have been heard, in 1817, would the power-of-imprisonment-bill of that year, and would the horrible transaction of 1819, ever have taken place? If the labourers and journeymen had had the choosing of members, should we have seen men transported for being in pursuit of a pheasant or a hare; should we have seen the honest labourer fed and clad worse than the convicts in the hulks, or the felons in the jails? And, should we have seen the Commons; or people's House of Parliament, pass a bill authorizing the keepers of hospitals, prisons, and workhouses to *dispose of the dead bodies of the worn-out and afflicted labourer or artisan to undergo the degradation which our forefathers allotted as part of the sentence of the murderer?*

We have been reviled, sometimes as ignorant and deluded men; at others as signing and seditious men, and almost

as traitors, for maintaining this doctrine; our calumniators paying no attention to the fact that the last DUKE of RICHMOND but one, the really great and good DUKE of RICHMOND, was not only an advocate of the same doctrines but actually brought a bill into Parliament to cause the House of Commons to be elected *annually and by universal suffrage*, excluding only infants, insane persons, and criminals, disqualified by law to take an oath in a court of justice. Surely this DUKE understood what was best for the country, or at least what were the rights of his own order of which he was nearly at the head; and yet we were to be called deluders and you deluded; and dungeons were to be opened to receive us, because we maintain principles which this nobleman had maintained and endeavoured to establish by law.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, it is not the rich that stand in need of positive rights; it is the poor, for whose protection rights were invented and established. The poorer a man is, the more necessity has he of protection; and he can have no protection, except by mere accident, unless he have a voice in choosing those who are to make the laws affecting his liberty and his life.

We are of opinion, that great efforts will now be made to practise delusion upon you; to entrap you into an assent to measures bearing the name of reform, but having, in fact, no object in view other than that of prolonging oppression. To the MARQUIS of BLANDFORD we are far from imputing any such design: we trust, and we believe, that he is animated with a sincere desire to make an effectual reform, and upon the principles which we have always advocated. But we suspect that there are others who will, by assuming what they call a tone of moderation, endeavour to defeat every effort to obtain that radical reform, without which nothing can be accomplished for the people. It will be your business to guard yourselves against becoming instruments in the hands of these deceivers. The test is very plain, very short, and easily put to the parties: if they be explicitly for *annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by*

ballot, be they who they may, receive them as friends; support them; adhere to them; and do every thing in your power to give them weight and consequence: if they do not answer this test, treat their professions with scorn, regard them as impostors and as enemies, and act towards them accordingly. Listen not to those who may tell you, that it is better to *get a little* than to get nothing; and that tell you, in the old adage, that *half a loaf is better than no bread*; in this case *half a loaf is no bread*: it is worse than no bread; it can only deceive, only enthrall; only prolong your degradation. Events, if you be firm, will *give you all*, in spite of every effort to keep it from you; but if you be deluded to be *content with a part*, you will, under the delusive name of reform, be, if possible, worse off than you now are.

You, who have the opportunity, ought soon to begin to make preparations for the presenting of petitions on the very first day of the next opening of the Parliament. A million and a half of men petitioned in 1817; let two millions petition now; but in conclusion we beseech you never to present a petition which shall not distinctly pray for *Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot*. We address this to you on the anniversary of that day on which our brave brethren in America put forth that declaration by which they shook off, for ever, the authority of the Parliament and Government of England, because, and only because, that Parliament and Government endeavoured to *compel them to be taxed without being represented*! The Americans had no desire to separate themselves from England; but, dear as England was to them, they resolved on the separation, rather than be taxed by a body, in which they were *not represented*. It was, then, out of this great principle, so firmly rooted in the hearts of Englishmen, that gave rise to the great and glorious republic on the other side of the Atlantic: that gave an example to the oppressed in every part of the world; and that provided a place of refuge for the victims of tyranny.

WM. COBBETT.
H. HUNT.

TO THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Barn-Elm Farm, 7th July, 1829.

MY LORD DUKE,

1. I HAVE been through West KENT and East SUSSEX myself; Mr. HUNT has been through WILTSHIRE, BERKSHIRE, and MIDDLESEX; I have seen a friend from the South of HAMPSHIRE, and one from the North of that county; I have seen a letter from Montgomeryshire, and another from Yorkshire; and I have seen a Gentleman from Bristol, and another from Leicestershire. On the authority of all these, I beg to assure you, that there are no Corn Stacks in these counties. A thing *quite new* you will be pleased to observe: a thing never known before within the memory of the oldest man living, whatever might have been the previous harvest, and whatever might have been the price of corn. The CAUSE: the corn stacks have been held for years past, as pledges to the country bankers for the false capital advanced by them: they have now been sold in order to pay up the balances due from the farmers to the rag-rooks: the cultivation was carried on by borrowed money; and now the bubble has burst.

2. Butter sells in Yorkshire (fresh butter) at *sixpence* per pound; in Leicestershire at *eightpence*; in the Weald of Kent at *eightpence*, at Tunbridge at *tenpence*.

3. Cotton prints are selling in London for less than the duty which they have paid; namely $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per yard; and cotton stockings for boys at a *penny* a pair, and for men at *fivepence*!

4. Southdown wool in HAMPSHIRE and WILTSHIRE at *fivepence* the pound: very near to London, at *sixpence*.

5. The country five-pound notes, unless at the rook's own shop, are exchanged by paying *three-pence* in the pound. Some Welch drovers paid more the other day, at Guilford in Surrey. They doubtlessly wrote in their journal, "MEM. *Bring sovereigns next time we come from home.*"

6. Welch cattle, bred in Wales, and sold for the marshes in Sussex and

Kent, particularly the latter, have come by *tens* this year instead of *hundreds*. One farmer in the neighbourhood of ROMNEY MARSH, wrote, about Christmas last, to his correspondent in Wales to send him *sixty head*, in the month of June: before June came (early in May) he wrote to his correspondent to send him not one, there being no money to pay with.

7. A farmer in Surrey, that used to pasture for the night hundreds of these cattle three or four times in the week, throughout the months of June, July, and August, has not had one head during the last month!

8. A farmer upon the borders of Sussex and Surrey sent some DORSET EWES to three separate fairs and to one monthly cattle market, and never had any bidding at all for them at either of the places! The ewes were sound, and in good condition.

9. The Norfolk and Suffolk farmers say, "Nothing sell." In the West of England they say, "Nothen zells."

10. The Welch farmers say, the "Stacks are all gone, and we must go 'ater um."

11. Wheat is falling in price notwithstanding all this.

12. These facts are all correct; and it really does appear to be the duty of Mr. GOULBURN to induce the country bankers to begin to put out those 5*l.* notes, which he assured us and assured you, that they would put out as soon as they "got rid of the ones."

13. Now, in conclusion, let me beseech you to stand firm: some people (and oh! I do scold them) say that the red coats will give way: I stand up for the honour of the cloth, and I promise all that talk to me, fresh butter at a groat a pound.

WM. COBBETT.

14. P.S. There are at this time more shops shut up in Oxford Street, St. Giles', Holborn. Skinners' Street, Newgate Street, Cheapside, Cornhill, Bishopsgate Street, Leadenhall Street, Gracechurch Street, Fenchurch Street, Fish Street Hill, Ludgate Hill, Fleet Street, and the Strand; there are ten

times more shops shut up in those streets of London, than any man living ever saw before at any one time; and I declare it to be a fact, that tradesmen in London, wholesale as well as retail, now carry on their business at a loss over and above the interest of their capital. The shipping of the Port of London is in a still worse state than the wholesale and retail trade. Still I beseech you to stand firm: better the grass grow in Fleet Street (so help me God, I would rather see the grass grow in Fleet Street) than see a soldier give way to these infernal rag-rooks.

TO JOHN MURRAY,

Of Albemarle Street, Publisher of THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, and also Publisher of "CAIN," and other such works.

MURRAY,

IN the last number of your base and infamous publication, called *The Quarterly Review*, there was an article "*On the Currency*;" in which article, after speaking of the work of Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD in a very disrespectful manner, for which you ought to have been horsewhipped, you speak, or your wretched hirelings speak of me, and of my false predictions relative to the effect of the one-pound-note bill. Ignorant and malignant Scotchman as you are, one would hardly think it credible that you should have tolerated, wilfully, the publication of a passage like the following; but you did tolerate it; you did publish it, and I will now take it while the cries of broken tradesmen are piercing your ears, and thrust it up under your snuffy and grimy Scotch nose. The passage to which I allude I find in page 462, in the following insolent, malignant, lying, and stupid words, quite worthy of an upstart Scotchman, and therefore unworthy of any other human being. After speaking contemptuously of Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD's forebodings, you proceed, with regard to me, thus:—"Another writer, indeed, of great notoriety, has for years been in the habit

“ of asserting, in his weekly lucubrations, that this measure never can be carried into effect without reducing the price of wheat to thirty-two shillings per quarter, and the price of other commodities in the same proportion, and producing in consequence a public convulsion. A public convulsion is the *summum malum* towards which all his aspirations are directed : he has wasted *the whole of a long life*, and very great natural abilities, in vain attempts to excite and foment *public discontent*. And the anticipation, that the suppression of the one-pound note circulation must create a national commotion, is the *last hope* to which the *hoary democrat now seems to cling* : at least such is his declaration ; for he has given a pledge, and renewed it weekly, that if the circulation of one-pound notes be finally withdrawn, and a public convulsion do not take place in consequence, he, Mr. William Cobbett, will consent to be roasted on a gridiron. For ourselves, we profess to entertain neither doubt nor fear upon the subject : in fact, the event, anticipated with so much glee by the *democrat of Kensington*, as the source of political confusion, and with so much gloom by the alarmist of Lombard-street, as the cause of commercial embarrassment, *has already taken place*. The act for the final suppression of one-pound notes has *already begun to operate* ; and yet we have neither heard nor seen anything which seems to indicate that the measure in question has produced the *slightest inconvenience* ; as far as we can see, it has not affected the *selling price* of any species of commodity.”

Now, MURRAY, you tell your readers here ; your wise and well-informed readers, that the “ hoary democrat’s ” predictions have proved “ to be false ; for that you have not discovered that the “ small note bill, though it has gone into effect, has *produced the slightest inconvenience*, ” and you say that it has not affected the *selling price of any species of commodity*. As far as you yourself are concerned, a broom-stick, or

rope’s end, laid about your carcass, and a kicking and bundling about by the toes of nailed shoes ; pumping upon, dragging through a horse pond with a rope round your neck ; flinging into a ditch full of mud, and sending you stinking along like one of the streets of your native country ; something of this sort would do for a grizzly-headed, underlooking fellow like you ; but, with regard to your readers ; with regard to the base, corrupt and malignant wretches that support you ; something in the way of exposure of your ignorance and of their folly is necessary.

The brute, the vile hired slave, whom you paid for writing the article which I have quoted from, knew he should delight you and your corrupt customers, by abusing me in the first place, and, in the next place, by encouraging the belief that the Small-Note Bill would produce *no* distress or inconvenience, and would, at the same time, falsify my predictions. It is astonishing to what lengths the stupidity and malignancy of you and your crew will push you on. Before this article was written, the effect of the Small-note Bill had been felt most severely : there had been a visible decline of prices, and commerce and trade began to be at a stand. Yet you could put forth this malignant article, not perceiving, apparently, that a few months, if not a few weeks, must make your stupidity notorious.

Now, however, people will listen : even the fools, the malignant fools ; the fools that love to believe that which they know to be false : even these wretches will now listen ; for, though they may live upon the taxes, and though they may be profiting from the distress and ruin of the payers of taxes ; still they have some lurking fears that this distress may be so great as to cause a blowing up, and that then all taxes may cease. All parties will now, therefore, listen ; and, having them in this mood, I will tell them something worth listening to. The price of *corn* is of little consequence at this time, seeing that the farmers have none to sell. I have before mentioned the almost total absence of wheat ricks in some parts of the country ; I can now

state the same with regard to Hampshire. So that the farmers have actually no corn to sell, and may, therefore, be extremely happy on the prices of corn. In many parts of the south and west of England, wool is an article of pretty nearly as much consequence as that of corn. It always was one of the great articles of produce in this country : one of the great sources of the nation's wealth and power. This article consists of various descriptions one of which, is called *Southdown wool*, which forms a great proportion of the whole of the wool of the country. This sort of wool sold, during several years, at from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a pound ; and, in the year 1815, at the wool show at LEWES, in SUSSEX, LORD SHEFFIELD, who used to be an annual agricultural gabbler, complained that the Southdown wool "*was ruinously low*," because it had fallen to *two shillings and four-pence a pound*. This wool, which was thought so low at 2s. 4d. in the pound, was, by the panic, brought down to 8d. or 9d. the pound ; and, the small note bill has brought it down to *five-pence a pound* ! I state as a fact, that in Hampshire and other counties in the west, Southdown wool is now selling at 12s. 6d. the TOD, which contains 28lbs.

So that, underlooking Scotchman, conceited as you are, here is a fall of prices at any rate. On the down farms, that is to say the sheep farms, it used to be deemed bad luck, a bad year, when the wool did not pay the rent. The price was about 2s. 6d. the pound on an average. A sheep carried about 3lbs. of wool ; so that, 700 sheep yielded in their fleeces, £262 10s. ; and the same flock of sheep now yield in their fleeces £43 15s. ! This is what the chuckle-headed farmers have got at last by prancing about as yeomanry cavalry men to keep down "jacobins and levellers." There are some of the farmers that were never guilty of this baseness ; but who had to suffer persecution for their good sense and public spirit, and their detestation of this system. These are safe : persecution made them take care of themselves ; and, as for the rest, there is nothing that they can suffer that can exceed that which they ought to suffer. To die upon their own dunghills,

with their mouths full of half-chewed grass, and to have their carcasses food for the birds of prey, would not be a bit too much for those ferocious villains who cheerfully aided the borough-mongers in crushing the reformers. However, the just punishment is now approaching : indeed it has been begun to be executed : the ruffians are under the hands of that same WELLINGTON, to whom they sent cheeses and oxen in Spain, when their own poor creatures of labourers were starving. Lay on the lash well, good Duke : they have thick skins and hearts like flint stones. Every man of them, who took a part against the reformers, deserves, not only the punishment he is receiving, but ten thousand times greater punishment than even this scourging and pestilential system can inflict. And, it is so appropriate : it is so just, that the lash should be laid on them by the man, with whose name they used to insult us.

Stupid Scotchman ! grizzly headed, and underlooking Sawney ! I have lately noticed that fresh butter is sold at 8d. a pound in the weald of Kent. By the LEEDS PATRIOT I am told that it is sold at *sixpence* the pound at Barnsley, in Yorkshire. I perceive in all the London newspapers, except, I think, the Morning Journal, a studious silence upon the subject of the distresses in trade and in agriculture. I perceive, that they scarcely ever allude to the subject, though shops are daily shutting up even in the most frequented streets, and though there are, in and about London, from ten to 20,000 new houses, that manifestly never will have an inhabitant ; though it is notorious that the receipts in every branch of business have fallen off from a third to a half, and in some cases three-fourths or four-fifths ; though, all this is notorious : though every man says it to every other man, the newspapers are totally silent upon the subject. It is notorious, that woollen, linen, cotton, silk ; in short all sorts of goods have fallen so low in price as to make it impossible that the makers, or venders, should not be ruined. You, stupid and malignant Scotchman, say that the one pound note bill *has not affected the selling price of any species of commodity*. Beastly, iron grey-headed,

underlooking Scotchman; take the following list of prices as publicly advertised by HALL and FREEMAN, at their warehouse for Manchester and Spitalfields Goods, at No. 13, Clare-Street, Clare Market. Look at this list, MURRAY, and then tell your stupid readers again, that the money price of articles has not fallen.

Stout Sarcenets, $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ per yard.
 Prime, very wide, $1s.$, $1s. 2d.$, and $1s. 4d.$
 Good Gros de Naples, $1s. 2d.$, and $1s. 4d.$
 Rich Durapes, $1s. 10d.$, $2s.$, and $2s. 4d.$
 Italian Nets, $3d.$, $6d.$, and $9d.$
 Crepe de Lyon, $6d.$ and $10d.$
 The best quality, $1s.$, never before sold under $22d.$
 Norwich Crape, $3d.$ and $4d.$
 Best Doubles, $6\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Black Bombasins, $3d.$, $6d.$, and $9d.$
 Patent Finish, $10d.$, $1s.$, and $1s. 3\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Yard-wide Black Crape, $9d.$
 Imperial and Patent, $15d.$, $18d.$, and $21d.$
 Black Cotton Velvet, $11\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Best imitative Silk, $1s. 2d.$ and $1s. 4d.$
 Cottage Stuffs, $4d.$, $4\frac{1}{2}d.$, and $6d.$
 Merinos, wide width, $10d.$
 Good Flannels, $2d.$, $4d.$, and $6d.$
 Real Welch, $4d.$
 Printed Furniture, fast colours, $5d.$
STOUT CALICOES, ONE HALFPENNY!
 Ditto, for Shirts, $1d.$, $2d.$, and $3\frac{1}{2}d.$
 The best ell-wide Long Cloths, $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ and $5\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Good Prints, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Town Prints, fast colours, $6d.$, $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ and $1s.$
 Batiste Dresses, $2d.$, $3d.$
 Worked Muslin Robe Dresses, $2s. 6d.$ and $4s.$
 Cambric, Jaconet and Book Muslins, $2d.$, $4d.$, and $8d.$
 Irish Linens, $4d.$
 Durable ditto, for Shirts, $7\frac{1}{2}d.$, $9d.$, and $11\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Diapers (all Linen) for the Nursery, per piece, $3s. 6d.$
 Strong Linen for Sheets, $3d.$
 Real Russia, $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards wide, one width for a Sheet, $1s. 9\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Linen Glass Cloths, $2d.$ each.
 Real Russia, $4\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Damask Cloths, $1s. 4d.$
 Large Blankets, $1s. 6d.$ Counterpanes, $1s. 6d.$
 Marseilles' Quilts, $4s.$ Large, $7s. 9d.$, and $8s. 11d.$
 French Cambric Pocket Handkerchiefs, $9s. 6d.$ per dozen.

Large ditto, $11s. 6d.$ to $18s.$
 Shawls, a large size, $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $11\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Prime Silk, extra size, $3s. 6d.$ to $4s. \frac{1}{2}d.$
 Barcelona Handkerchiefs, $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ and $9\frac{1}{2}d.$
 A large lot of very rich Gauze Handkerchiefs, $8\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Ladies' Kid Gloves, $2d.$ French, $5d.$, $7d.$, and $8\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Women's fine White Cotton Hose, $3d.$, $5\frac{1}{2}d.$, $8d.$, and $11\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Silk ditto, $1s. 11d.$
 Women's Black Worsted Hose, prime at $6d.$
 Men's Brown Cotton Hose, $5d.$
 Very stout and fine, $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ Men's Worsted, $7\frac{1}{2}d.$
 The greatest bargain in LACE ever seen!
 Twelve yards for $2d.$ Broad Lace, $2d.$
 Yard-wide Net, $5d.$, $7d.$, and $9\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Rich figured, $16d.$
 Muslin Collars, $5d.$
 Broad Cloths, $2s. 9\frac{1}{2}d.$ two yards wide.
 Superfine West of England, $4s. 3d.$, $5s. 8d.$, and $7s. 11d.$
 Gingham Umbrellas, $1s. 9d.$, best ditto, $2s. 10d.$ and $3s. 6d.$
 Wide Bonnet Ribbons, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$
 A lot fashionable, very broad, $3\frac{1}{2}d.$, $6\frac{1}{2}d.$, and $8\frac{1}{2}d.$
 Rich Gauze, $2d.$
 Full-sized Leghorns, warranted foreign, $5s. 6d.$ to $8s. 3d.$

There, SCOTCHMAN: look at that, and then assert again that the "*last hope*" of the "*hoary democrat*" has failed him. I shall be told that this is a singular sort of shop; and that other shops do not sell at these very low prices. This is true: there are, however, several shops of this same description in London; but these shops are singular, after all: they do, however, only take the lead: they are only in the front of the rest: men's stockings, tolerably good, are to be bought for three-pence a pair in *many shops*. Cotton stockings, fit for boys twelve years of age, are to be purchased in numerous shops for *one penny* a pair! I myself have purchased a good assortment of things at this shop of HALL and FREEMAN; and I find the articles really very good, and intend to have a coat made of the West Country cloth, specified towards the close of the advertisement.

Addressing myself to my readers in

the country, I have to inform them that there are now shops in London, in great numbers, which sell goods very nearly at as low prices as these; and they, my readers, I mean, will be quite sure, that this would not be the case unless ruin had seized upon almost all the dealers of this kind of goods. For, suppose HALL and FREEMAN to be under peculiar circumstances of distress; so far from this being the case, there is, I understand, all the appearance of the contrary; but for argument sake, suppose it; or if you will, suppose them to be the agents of ruined people, what would, in either of these cases, be the consequences of the opening of a shop at prices like these? Why, other shopkeepers, dealing in the same sort of goods, would go instantly and purchase the whole contents of their shop. They would do this were it only to prevent the degradation of their own prices; but the truth is, most of them have no money to purchase the goods with; and those that have money, see that they have no hope of selling the goods which they already have in their possession.

Besides, in spite of the frequency of the exclamation: "It is impossible to make it for the money," we shall find that it is possible, I believe. A *half-penny a yard* for cotton cloth, may indeed be too little; and, two-pence half-penny for cotton prints, when a duty of three-pence has been paid, is certainly too little: but, this west of England cloth, which appears to be so astonishingly cheap, is, I take it, much about the price that it will, in general, be hereafter sold at. Why should it be dearer! while Southdown wool is sold for *five-pence* a pound: while indigo and other stuff for dyeing are sold for about a sixth part of their former price? I am of opinion that this is as high a price as such cloth will fetch, when once things have got properly settled down. There appears to me to be now going on, a sort of general breaking-up of the manufacturing or hell-hole system: it was a thing out of nature: it was a part of the offspring of the infernal system of paper money: it was a false thing; and my real opinion is, that it is coming gradually down, and will

dwindle at last into a very contemptible concern, leaving some thousands of big manufacturers to be swept out by insolvent acts, and some hundreds of thousands of poor creatures, now their slaves, to prowl southward, to teach the people once more to make their clothes in their own village. In France, in several parts of Germany, in the Netherlands, in Denmark, in Holland, in the United States of America; every where the inventions of the cotton spinners and other greedy devils of the North, have got into play. They will be a curse to those countries, too, which will be some little consolation to us; but they will break up the concern here, for which I thank God. I like to see things flourishing in my own fields and gardens; but I had much rather see the grass flourishing in the streets of that hell-hole, Manchester; and this I verily believe I shall see, or something very much like it.

The LEEDS PATRIOT (the only paper coming from the North, with the exception of the EXAMINER of EDINBURGH, that is worth attending to) has the following description of the situation of DEWSBURY in YORKSHIRE. Our *Dewsbury* correspondent writes us—"Such is the state of trade in our once flourishing neighbourhood, that a weaving shop, where four looms used to be regularly employed, at Earles-Heaton, is now made into a place where the swallows rear their young brood, undisturbed by the noise of the loom, or the entrance of any one, only to see the progress the birds are making, as several broods are now in possession of this once-busy building. From a fair calculation, made by a person acquainted with the manufactories of the neighbourhood, the weavers have not earned, since Christmas, as much as 3s. 6d. per week; and some of them have families of seven or eight to maintain out of this small pittance." And my opinion is, that they will never earn more in the hell-holes of the North. Nearly three years have passed over our heads now, with these hell-holes gradually upon the decline. It has sometimes been pretended that they were reviving; but it is manifest that they never have

revived; and that they now merely await their fall. And, ought we not to rejoice at this? Ought we not to rejoice at the prospect of seeing an end to such horrible oppression and slavery; such horrible degradation of the human species! Old MOTHER MANGE, the Edinburgh Review, in a number published some time ago, very coolly observed, that there could be no reduction of the standing army, *seeing that a considerable force was constantly requisite in every manufacturing town.* Just the same was said by the Scotch DOCTOR BLACK about six weeks or two months ago. Is there no friendly pestilence? The itch will not kill them, we know, though it make their skins like the bark of an oak tree. But, is there no pestilence: will Providence send us nothing to sweep these abominable Scotch from the face of this land? Here are we with laws that hold barracks and standing soldiers in abomination; and the relics of which laws cause the army to be voted only for a year at a time; and here are these audacious Scotchmen telling us, that in order to have manufactures, we must have a body of soldiers in every manufacturing town; and it is true that we have them there, and that the loom seems nothing without the sword: jolly soldiers and their fat horses, amidst swarms of ragged and skeleton manufacturers. And is this a thing for a nation to boast of? Is it not a thing to be abhorred; and ought we not to rejoice that the accursed thing seems to be passing away?

MURRAY, you must have another Quarterly Review soon; you will do well to send me a copy; and let me see what your garretters have said about the *currency* now, and about the present prospects of the country. Let me see whether you still insist that the currency has had no effect upon prices; and let me have the leaves of your rubbishy book wherewith to singe the fowls and the ducks for the *Grand Feast of the Gridiron!*

WM. COBBETT.

AMERICAN TARIFF.

PEEL has recently said, in his place in the HOUSE OF COMMONS, that the American Tariff is *one of the causes of the present distress of this country.* It is, therefore, worth while to inquire a little what has been the real cause of the American Tariff. There can be no doubt that it has, in some degree, contributed towards the present distress of the manufacturers, seeing that it has prevented immense quantities of hardware, of cottons, and of woollens, from being exported from this country to America. It is hard to conceive, however, how it should have broken up, or even assisted, to break up so many tradesmen in London and country towns, or how it should have assisted to reduce the farmers to their present deplorable state. The truth is, it has very little to do in producing any of these effects, and it would not have been felt as a national evil, if it had not been for the operations of the Small-note Bill. But since the Ministers will have it that this TARIFF is one of the causes of our calamities, I shall offer my opinion with regard to the cause of the Tariff itself. In process of time, English goods of the description just mentioned would naturally have been excluded from a country abounding in iron mines, in coal mines, in immense forests, and which is the native country of the cotton, which abounds also in the wool of the sheep, in all the conveniences of water power, in all the materials for building, and in which human food is in great abundance, and at half the price that it is in this country. Nevertheless I am convinced, that, had it not been for one man, Mr. THOMAS HULME, formerly of BOLTON in LANCASHIRE, it would not have been, for many years hence, that this great measure to exclude English manufacture would have been adopted.

Mr. HULME, who had made a pretty large fortune in the business of a bleacher at BOLTON, quitted business about the close of the war against France. He was a *parliamentary reformer*, and he made up his mind, that, if a reform could not be obtained, to remove with his family

to America. He went to that country in the year 1816 and returned in the latter part of that year, just at the time when we were making the great struggle for reform. He came to London in the month of December 1816, or early in the month of January 1817; he was, I believe, one of the delegates at the Crown and Anchor; and he was a witness of the base abandonment of our cause by BURDETT. He was in London when the horrible power-of-imprisonment bill was passed; and he was the only man, except one, who was made acquainted with my intention to flee to America. We agreed, however, that we would both remain (though he liked America well) if there were any chance of obtaining a parliamentary reform. After a good deal of consideration upon the subject, he expressed a wish to see some nobleman, or some man of importance, and to ascertain from him, if possible, whether there were any number of men in either House of Parliament that were willing to make a stand for the people. It was settled at last, that I should write to LORD HOLLAND, and to ask his permission for us to wait upon him, a permission which he promptly and very politely gave, and accordingly we went to him the next morning, at his house in Arlington-street. His Lordship received us with that great condescension and kindness which belongs to his character, and Mr. HULME stated the case to him thus: "My Lord, "I am an Englishman, who by incessant application to business have earned a moderate fortune. I have a wife and nine children; I have no foolish notions of ambition to gratify; if I can have a parliamentary reform, I will stay in my own country and do it all the service I can; but I am resolved that no boroughmongers shall take my earnings from my children; and if, in order to preserve those earnings to them, I am compelled to adopt another country, "I will do all the good that I can to that adopted country, be the consequences what they may to the country in which "I was born."

These, doubtless, were not the very words of Mr. HULME, but they were nearly his words, and I repeat them as it

were in the presence of my LORD HOLLAND, who, I am sure, will easily call the singular circumstance to his recollection. His Lordship was too sincere a man to hold out hopes that he did not expect to see realized; and, after some short time of conversation, during which his Lordship will recollect that I predicted ruin to the country, unless a timely arrangement took place with regard to the debt and paper money, we took our leave. I sailed for America before Mr. HULME, but we met again in LONG ISLAND in the summer of that year. He was a man with a good deal of leisure on his hands, and with uncommon activity and great skill in all matters relating to manufactures. A man of excellent sense; of manners and person extremely well adapted for the purposes of persuasion; and he naturally had that familiarity in demeanour, which made him a very agreeable associate amongst the Americans. He almost immediately set himself to work to endeavour to induce the Americans to *manufacture for themselves*, to effect which object he neglected no opportunity and no exertion: in all companies, whether high or low, whether amongst merchants or farmers, whether in taverns or in stages, it was the everlasting drop of the rain on the marble; and, if his life had depended on the accomplishment of his purpose he could not have been more in earnest or more zealous.

He travelled thousands of miles in order to assist young manufacturers with his advice: he went to WASHINGTON when the Congress was sitting, in order to give the members information, and to press his arguments upon them. After some time, he pointed out to the Congress a great fraud committed by the English manufacturers. It was this: there was a certain duty on articles, the principal part of which consisted of *linen*, which duty was much lower than if the article had consisted principally of *cotton*. Now, the worthies in the hell-holes have the talent of so dressing up a piece of stuff, by rolling, by glazing, by something, as to give it the outward appearance of having in it more of linen than of cotton, when, at the same time,

it consists almost wholly of cotton. Mr. HULME, who understood these tricks well, pointed out the deception. I remember his bringing to me a piece of the stuff, and taking all the threads one from the other, proving to me that it consisted, almost wholly, of cotton. Having given the same proof to the Congress, an Act was passed to cause examination to take place, and to subject the goods to the higher duty, if so decided on by the examiners. The hell-holes played another trick: they made out the invoices, which were to be presented at the Custom House, much lower than the real price of the goods: this also he pointed out, and an Act was passed to authorise the collectors of customs to appoint persons to value the goods, and to lay on them a duty agreeably to that valuation. He has since I came away, as I have understood, procured another Act to be passed relative to unsheared woollen cloths, which paid a much lower duty, in consequence of not being sheared, and which could be sheared in America as well, and nearly as cheaply as in England. But his great object was the exclusion of English woollens, cottons, and hardware, which he always used to say would be a famous blow at the boroughmongers, or, as he used to call them, "booroughmongers," which word he has made pretty nearly as familiar in the great towns of America, as it is in those of England.

Now, though I well know that that sober and sedate set of men, the American Congress, are not to be hastened on to do things without thoroughly understanding what they are about; though I know that passion and prejudice have no weight with them: still I know also, that they must listen to the voice of the people; and I am very sure Mr. HULME has a great deal to do in inducing the people to make their voice heard upon the subject. He has been just twelve years engaged in the enterprise: I will engage he has not passed a single day, without making some effort to accomplish his purpose. He has had no business of his own, or rather he has made this his business. Besides, by his advice, by the information which he gave to manu-

facturers, he, in some measure, taught the country to manufacture for itself. I have never heard, nor have I ever inquired, whether he were consulted in the framing of the new Tariff; but I think it very likely that he was; and it is my opinion, that, in whatever degree this Tariff has been, or will be, injurious to England, that injury is to be principally, if not solely, ascribed to this most intelligent, able, active, and persevering Englishman, who has herein made good his words, that he would do his adopted country all the good he could, though it should do the greatest of mischief to the country in which he had been born, and from which he had been compelled to flee, in order to secure his earnings for his children. Thus, then, if what I have here related be true, and if it be not true, the matter is of so much notoriety that there are hundreds to contradict me; if what I have related here be true, and if the American Tariff be one cause of our present distress, that cause is to be ascribed to a want of *Parliamentary Reform*, that source of all the evils which have afflicted England for the last fifty years.

Unjust governments; or, rather, governments over which the people have no control: such governments were never made wise by experience, or here would be a lesson to them: they would here find, that strong as they think themselves; great as is their contempt for individuals, individuals sometimes find the means of reaching them. The English government was once before reached by an Englishman, and in America too; I mean by our famous countryman PAINE. PAINE was an exciseman, at LEWES in SUSSEX. He was basely treated by the insolent fools set over him by the rotten borough system: he petitioned for redress: instead of redress, he received *additional injury*; he went to America; he there wrote against the system which he had left at home. JEFFERSON, and some others, have had the credit of being the *authors of the declaration of Independence*: either of them might, for aught I know, have *written* it; but PAINE was its author. No man dreamt of independence, until he publicly excited the peo-

ple to it. He, in his "COMMON SENSE," urged the people to COMPEL the congress to declare independence! A committee of the CONGRESS met to consider of an *answer* to PAINE; to consider of an appeal to the people, to show them *the madness of the proposition*. That same committee, before they separated, AGREED UPON a REPORT to the CONGRESS RECOMMENDING THE MEASURE of INDEPENDENCE! Thus the injured, insulted, scorned, and despised EXCISEMAN, made the borough thing feel his just vengeance. This ought to have been a lesson to the borough thing; but, things like the borough thing do not take lessons. It was a very happy circumstance that the borough thing drove PAINE to America: for, if America had been subdued at that time, what hope would there have been for Englishmen? It was also a fortunate circumstance, perhaps, that the Borough-THING drove away Mr. HULME; for he will unquestionably greatly assist in cutting short the days of the *manufacturing gamble*; and the manufacturing gamble, though so injurious and destructive to the country, has been one of the great resources of the Borough-Thing. There is *another individual* who has been oppressed by a branch of the THING; namely, the Rev. Mr. GRIFFIN, who petitioned Parliament for redress for treatment received from the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. That Society, without any cause assigned, have treated him in a most unjust manner: the history of his treatment is one of the most shameful that ever was heard of; but if Mr. GRIFFIN live for a few years (and that is very likely) my real opinion is, that he will bring down that Society, and all its satellites along with it.

SELECT VESTRIES.

SOME of the parishes in London have been endeavouring to free themselves from the power of these bodies, which are nothing more than *young ones*, begotten and born from the great old one: they are little bodies of taxers, who lay

on taxes without the consent of those who pay them; and who, when they have collected them, spend them just as they please, without any responsibility to anybody. The poverty of the people; the poverty of the tradesmen in London, has sharpened their wits: and, they are now inquiring what is done with their money by these Select Vestries. The Select Vestries being determined not to tell them, they have endeavoured to put down the Select Vestries. But they will never succeed until they have a Parliament to pass laws for putting them down. The parishes of St. Giles, and of St. George, Bloomsbury, have made an effort of this sort, and have succeeded so far as to be able to choose Churchwardens for themselves. This triumph they celebrated a few days ago at a dinner at the Freemasons' Tavern, where I heard from two of the Churchwardens speeches about a thousand times better than I ever heard from the Collective in the whole of my life. But in spite of the knowledge and talent of the Churchwardens, there will be no effectual redress until the Parliament be reformed. Great praise is due to the Churchwardens, and to those who have supported them; but there is no remedy without a reform of the Commons' House: it would be to deceive people to disguise this fact, and I will be no deceiver.

To be had at 183, Fleet Street.

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA; treating of the Face of the Country, the Climate, the Soil, the Products, the Mode of Cultivating the Land, the Prices of Land, of Labour, of Food, of Raiment; of the Expenses of House-Keeping, and of the Usual Manner of Living; of the Manners and Customs of the People, and of the Institutions of the Country, Civil, Political, and Religious. Price 5s.

PROTESTANT "REFORMATION," in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries; in a series of letters, addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen. A new edition, in two volumes; the price of the first volume 4s. 6d., and for the second 3s. 6d.

TULL'S FAMOUS WORK ON THE HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY. In the Press, and shortly will be Published, a New Edition.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE Second Number of this work is now published. The title is "Advice to Young Men, and incidentally and *with great diffidence*, to Young Women, in the middle and higher ranks of life." I have begun with the YOUTH, and shall go to the YOUNG MAN OF THE BACHELOR, talk the matter over with him as a LOVER, then consider him in the character of HUSBAND; then as FATHER; then as CITIZEN or SUBJECT; though if he will be ruled by me, he will, if he can, contrive to exist in the former of these two capacities. Such will be the nature of my work; or, rather, such will be the division of it. Each number will contain thirty pages of print; will be covered by a wrapper made of the CORN PAPER, which will have notices, advertisements, and the like, in the usual way. The work is intended to contain twelve Numbers, to be published on the first day of every month, and the price of each Number will be *Sixpence*. So that for six shillings, expended in one year of his life, I do believe that any Youth or Young Man may acquire that knowledge, which will enable him to pass the rest of his life with as little as possible of those troubles and inconveniences which arise from want of being warned of danger in time. At any rate, I, who have passed safely through as many dangers as any man that ever lived, will give my young countrymen the means of acquiring all the knowledge relative to these matters, which my experience has given me.

COBBETT'S GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

THIS work, which has been so long in hand, is now *in the press*. It will contain the name, situation, &c., of every *parish* and even of every *hamlet*; it will contain a description and an account of the *country*; also of *each county*; and will, I trust, convey *more useful information on this subject*, than has ever

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The laws provide for the admission of the Public, on payment of a radical rent of One Penny.

JOHN GRADY, Secretary.

Communications to the Secretary, addressed as above, will be received.

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